



INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTRE
CENTRE DE RECHERCHES POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL

MEMORANDUM/NOTE DE SERVICE

TO/A: Anne V. Whyte

DATE: September 22, 1987

FROM/DE: J. A. Nkinyangi

SUBJECT/OBJET: IDDR Refugees

1. Attached is the revised paper on refugees. I had to make significant changes in my original paper on African refugees in order to examine the issues more globally as well as to incorporate discussion on refugees in Asia and Latin America.

2. You will notice that I have steered away from the controversial issue of Palestinian refugees. Nevertheless, the Division may want to consider whether it wants to encourage research on Palestinians, especially on the West Bank.

3. In writing the paper, I have relied upon available documents and other secondary sources. Despite the limited time I had for the exercise, I believe the product is satisfactory. I hope it meets with your approval. I have discussed the general framework with Sidiki. I would welcome your comments.

cc: Sidiki Coulibaly
Mario Torres/Benjamin Alvarez
Susanne Mowat
Elwood Pye



:cg

ARCHIV
NKINYA
no. 1

6.13 Refugees

6.13.1 Key Issues

Estimates of the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) puts the number of refugees in the world today at 10 million. Other sources, however, suggest a figure closer to 12 million, this on account of thousands of refugees who remain unregistered. The majority of refugees are women, children, and elderly people.

A half of the world's refugees are in Africa. There are also significant numbers of refugees in Pakistan and in Iran, in South-East Asia, and in Latin America. This section deals with refugee issues in these regions. It does not cover the contentious question of Palestinian refugees, who are to be found in large numbers in North-Africa and in the Middle-East, and in smaller numbers in other regions.

Refugees are part of migrations which have gone on since time immemorial. In present times, however, the world appears to be in the midst of one of the largest migration movements ever recorded in its history. It is estimated that between 70 to 80 million people have left their country of origin in search of employment or protection. Some observers have asserted that today's refugees are the inevitable result of the dissolution of empires and the postponed realignment of domestic, political and economic forces.

The international conventions and protocols governing the definition and status of "refugees" have some serious short-comings. The main instruments of the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees define a refugee as a person "who owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his/her nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country".

The UNHCR definition, however, well-suited to the post-war conditions in Europe, has two serious limitations when applied today, especially in Third World situations. First, it envisaged an individual review process which cannot be successfully implemented when entire population subgroups flee. Second, it excluded three categories of individuals who most frequently are forced to flee: (a) internally displaced persons (e.g., on account of natural disasters such as drought and famine, floods, earthquakes, etc.); (b) victims of military operations (as in Uganda, southern Sudan, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua); and (c) victims of repressive and unjust social and economic systems (e.g.

South Africa), or of unpopular government policies (e.g. of enforced resettlement and villagization in Ethiopia).

The international conventions and protocols also do not distinguish between male and female refugees, or between adult and children refugees, the underlying assumption being that all refugees, once so identified, should receive equal assistance and treatment. The changing global refugee situation, with increasing occurrences of large-scale movements of persons fleeing political and armed conflicts, has created problems which affect women to a greater degree than before.

One of the consequences of political upheaval is the breakdown of traditional social norms and support systems as they affect the family unit and the role of women. Most protection problems for women, who with children now constitute the majority of the refugees in camps, appear to stem from this breakdown and the consequent attempts to impose new norms of behaviour. Protection offered within the refugee camp may not adequately compensate for this loss, as there usually has not occurred a commensurate liberation from traditional cultural norms and the social position of women.

The burden of refugees on host countries can be economic, environmental, social or political. Usually it is a combination of all four. From the moment of arrival, a large refugee population increases the demand for natural resources and for agricultural land, hastening the process of deforestation, soil depletion and erosion. There is also an increased demand for education and health facilities, transportation, social services and jobs. Moreover, social conflicts may arise from differences in ethnic and socio-linguistic characteristics between refugees and the local population, and political strain can result from the competition for scarce government resources.

Traditionally, the international community has tended to view refugee issues as a "temporary" problem. Most assistance programmes have therefore been aimed at providing relief and some rehabilitation services. The classic approaches to dealing with refugee issues fall into three categories: (a) voluntary repatriation; (b) resettlement in a third country; and (c) integration into the country of asylum. While voluntary repatriation remains the most desirable solution there are instances where this prospect is not feasible in the foreseeable future. Third country resettlement is possible for a small minority of refugees but has limited viability in light of the international economic environment and high unemployment in potential host countries.

The factors giving rise to the displacement of such large numbers of people as has been experienced in various

regions of the Third World are rather complex. The underlying causes of the refugee crisis, however, are largely structural in nature. At the root of the problem are regional and local conflicts leading to serious human rights violations.

Africa:

The number of refugees in Africa has risen sharply, from 400,000 at the beginning of the 1960s, to one million ten years later, and to an estimated 5 million, or more, at the present time. The majority of African refugees are of rural origin. They are concentrated in a number of countries or regions of sub-Saharan Africa: the Horn area (in Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, and Djibouti); in East Africa (Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi); Zaire; and countries bordering the Republic of South Africa (namely, Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Zambia, and Zimbabwe). There are relatively fewer refugees in the West African and North African countries.

According to the most recent data available from UNHCR (June 1, 1987), Sudan is the country with the largest number of refugees (974,200) followed by Somalia (840,000). There are also sizable numbers of refugees in other countries: Zaire, 301,000; Tanzania, 220,265; Malawi, 210,000; Burundi, 198,000; Ethiopia, 164,000; South Africa, 150,000; Zambia, 133,600; and Uganda, 112,270. In the other Eastern and Southern African countries, refugees total 194,510 (Angola, 92,180; Zimbabwe, 65,000; Djibouti, 15,500; Swaziland, 12,650; Botswana, 5,180; and Lesotho, 4,000). The total number of registered refugees in the other West and Central African countries (Senegal, Togo, Benin, Cameroon, Nigeria, Central African Republic, and Congo) is relatively small (34,870). There are 165,000 refugees in Algeria and 1,100 in Egypt.

In the Horn of Africa region, the displacement of such large numbers of people is partly the result of long-simmering border disputes between Somalia and Ethiopia, while in the Sudan, Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi it is the outcome of civil war emanating from inter-ethnic conflicts. In Ethiopia, it is also a combination of civil war and unpopular government resettlement and villagization policies, besides the border dispute with Somalia.

In Southern Africa, refugees are to be found in countries bordering Namibia and the Republic of South Africa. This is due in part to the war of independence in Namibia and the intensified struggle against apartheid and also the result of South Africa's destabilization policies against neighbouring countries, contributing to civil wars instigated

by South-African-backed insurgents, as in Angola and Mozambique, or to internal insecurity, as in the Matabeleland province of Zimbabwe where armed bandits assisted by South Africa have been fighting the Zimbabwean Government since independence in 1980. Hence, the refugees in Zaire are largely of Angolan origin while in Zambia and Angola they are Namibian and to some extent South African. In Malawi and Zimbabwe, they are Mozambican while in Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland they are almost exclusively South African.

In West Africa, the majority of refugees are of Chadian origin, the result of the civil war which has raged on in that country for a long time. In Algeria, the majority of refugees are from Western Sahara (the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic in exile), the product of the Polisario Front's guerilla warfare against Moroccan and Mauritanian armed forces for the attainment of self-determination by the Saharawi people.

In Africa today, the majority of refugees are more likely than not to be from the neighbouring country, with the consequence of worsening inter-State relations, leading to more conflicts and further displacement of people. The classic example illustrating this is South Africa, where the internal and external struggle against apartheid generates refugees, and the policies of the South African Government towards frontline states compromises the ability of these countries to provide safety to refugees within their borders. South Africa has recently resorted to military force against neighbouring countries (most recently, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana) on accusations harbouring elements opposed to its government. Assassinations of leading refugee activists (as happened in Swaziland this July and in Lesotho in 1982) has been another dominant feature of this approach.

Ethiopia and Sudan are also in continual conflict over alleged support of groups seeking the overthrow of each other's government. A significant number of refugees in the Sudan (448,000) are of Ethiopian origin. Ethiopia itself harbours some 85,000 Sudanese refugees. In Southern Africa, relations between Malawi and neighbouring countries have been strained for a long time. Malawi, which is the only African country with diplomatic relations with South Africa, is accused by its neighbours of allowing its territory to be used as launching ground for attacks against Mozambique and Zimbabwe by South-African-backed insurgents. On the other hand, in North Africa, relations between Algeria and Morocco are poor because of the former's support for the liberation struggle in Western Sahara.

The acute drought and famine conditions which recently hit certain African countries (specifically, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and Somalia), have interacted with the unstable local and regional situation contributing to further

displacement and mass dislocation of people. The situation in Mozambique is particularly acute and has worsened in the last few months as a result of the drought and the continuing conflict and incidents of sabotage, destruction and plundering of property and villages by South-African-supported guerrillas.

All the African countries hosting large numbers of refugees are today also facing critical economic and social problems stemming from the combined effects of underdevelopment; weak and inadequate infrastructures; limited and uncharted natural resources; and an increasingly difficult international economic environment. For most countries, therefore, the massive inflows of refugees further constrains national governments in meeting the basic needs of their own populations.

The majority of the refugees are in camps. The concentration of such large numbers in the rural areas of certain African countries (e.g. in Somalia, Ethiopia, Tanzania) has contributed to a deterioration in the environment, already in a serious state of degradation as a result of rapidly increasing population pressures. The situation is worsened by the fact that refugees are often settled in arid or semi-arid low potential lands. In Somalia, for example, the constant use of brush and wood for fuel and construction by refugees has deforested areas within a radius of up to 40 kms. around many of the older camps (i.e. those established before 1982). This has resulted in a severe shortage of woodfuel and building material. In Somalia and Ethiopia problems of deforestation are compounded by over-grazing as refugees gradually attempt to rebuild their flocks of small livestock. In most refugee settlement areas, soil erosion is already a serious problem and it is feared that within a short time the prevailing situation may create unmanageable problems by destroying an already fragile ecological balance with the probability of increasing aridity in the rural areas of these countries.

On another level, the pressure of the refugees on public services (agricultural support services, health, education, etc.), especially by spontaneously settled refugees (who may number many thousands, as in Somalia), is leading to a deterioration in the overall quality of these services, with resultant ill-feelings towards refugees by local communities. Refugees in urban settings (as in Lesotho and the Sudan) also compete with locals for scarce job opportunities.

In a few countries (e.g. Tanzania) there have been attempts to increase refugees' self-reliance by settling them in agricultural schemes. In most cases, however, agricultural schemes have involved only a small percentage of the refugee population, as in Somalia. Moreover, in Somalia, as in Swaziland and Botswana, where the majority of refugees live

on settlements, the average size of plots is small and can produce little more than an additional source of food or income to supplement food aid. The general observation that can be made, therefore, is that most African refugee assistance programmes are characterized by small-scale interventions with little capital investment or skills training. Hence, African refugees exist in an environment of near total dependance on external assistance for their survival.

Dissatisfaction with traditional approaches, in the face of the scale of the African refugee problem and with the continuing rise in refugee numbers, led to the convening of two international conferences, International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa: ICARA I and II, in Geneva in 1981 and 1984. Both meetings served to heighten public and official awareness of the plight of refugees in Africa and to mobilize additional resources for refugee programmes in host countries. Delegates at the meetings recommended projects placing special emphasis on the social, economic and cultural integration of refugees into their countries of asylum. Many of the projects submitted for support at ICARA II, therefore, were aimed at going beyond the provision of relief and rehabilitation services, and toward programmes promoting the integration of refugees into their host countries.

Subsequent to ICARA II, the international community pledged approximately US \$130 million for assistance to refugee programmes in Africa. These were important first steps in dealing with African refugee problems but fell far short of the present and future needs of refugees and host countries in the light of the complexity of the social and economic crises these countries are also facing.

Pakistan and Iran:

Afghans continue to form the largest refugee caseload in the world: 2.8 million in Pakistan and 1.9 million in Iran, according to recent Pakistani and Iranian Governments' statistics reported by UNHCR (December 1986).

The events leading to such a large displacement of Afghan people are rather complex. The present refugee situation in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan has its origins not only in political circumstances as they developed in Afghanistan from 1978 onwards but also in the history of migrations as they have affected this region for many centuries.

For generations, Afghan pastoral nomads had been making annual migrations to the lowlands around Peshawar in Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province and Quetta in the Baluchistan Province during the winter months. Although the influx of large numbers (as many as 500,000) of outsiders adversely affected some local residents and benefitted others, the general pattern became a tolerated way of life, made easier by the fact that the outsiders were of the same ethnic stock and spoke the same language (Pashtu) as their hosts, and the frontier government had developed institutions for "regulating" migrations. Because of national political reasons these migrations were officially curtailed in the early 1960's although the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan remained open and was considered to be a rather artificial division between inter-related and frequently interacting Pathan tribal groups.

Migrations of Afghans into neighbouring Iran have also been taking place since time immemorial, sustained by common ethnic and cultural origins as well as the sectarian split between Sunni and Shi'a Islam (at least 80% of the Afghan population are Sunni Muslims, with the Shi'a minority nearly all imami, in common with the majority of Iranians).

The more recent influx of migrants to Pakistan and Iran was brought about by the adverse reaction of mostly rural Afghans to the Soviet-backed regime and its attempts to build a more "settled" and regimented society. Internal strife escalated significantly from the end of December 1979 with the direct involvement of Soviet military forces in Afghanistan raising the stakes from a small-scale civil war based on ethnic and sectarian struggles to a major conflict with regional and international ramifications.

Bombardments and air raids by Soviet and Afghan Government forces on villages in many areas of the country were stepped up greatly from 1980, generating a huge increase in numbers of refugees into Pakistan and Iran. Numbers of refugees rose fifteen-fold in just six years from 1980, to reach 2.8 million in Pakistan alone. The exodus into Iran also began from the first days of the heightened hostilities culminating in the present 1.9 million figure. In both Pakistan and Iran, however, it is thought that refugee numbers may be much higher since not all refugees are registered.

In Pakistan, three-quarters of all Afghan refugees are concentrated around Peshawar and in settlements around villages in the Northwest Frontier Province. The other quarter are around Quetta and in settlements in border villages in Baluchistan Province. Registered refugees have access to basic commodities and services through the Pakistan

Government's administration of UNHCR and NGO relief supplies and services. They are also very much involved in the local economy.

Vast numbers of Afghan refugees have become traders in local bazaars, selling fruit brought from Afghanistan or various provisions which they have received as refugees. They have also penetrated the transportation and construction industries, using their own trucks in the former and becoming wage labourers in the latter. Those who have prospered have been able to buy land and houses (although this is currently prohibited).

Afghan refugees in Pakistan have had a major impact in the local economy in other ways. They are major consumers of various agricultural commodities especially grain. It is estimated that they consume around 20 million kilogrammes of wheat a month, leading to a deficit in local markets. The Northwest Frontier Province now imports 60% of its basic grain needs. Demand by Afghans for such other commodities as meat and dairy products has also resulted in shortages of such commodities.

These market-place pressures have come at the time of long-term decline in agricultural productivity in the NorthWest Frontier Province both in traditional export products such as fruits and in meat and grain. These economic developments have also come at a time of labour shortages, at least in some sectors such as construction, since a significant number of Pakistan's skilled and semi-skilled labour is in the Middle-East.

The influx of cheap Afghan labour has contributed to a construction boom, much to the satisfaction of the contractors, but has suppressed local wages and incipient attempts at labour organization, much to the consternation of workers. Hence, as in previous waves of migration, some groups are clearly prospering from the presence of refugees and some are suffering. Unlike previous migrations, however, this is a situation which is threatening to become permanent and this is alarming to the local people and Pakistan Government officials, leading to hostility towards refugees.

In Iran, Afghan refugees are dispersed throughout the country, although a half are living in the border provinces of Khorasan and Sistan-Baluchistan. New arrivals are temporarily placed in one of 14 reception and quarantine centres for registration and health-screening purposes prior to resettlement. Inevitably, Afghan Shi'a fundamentalist parties and their followers are more at home in Iran, in the fervently Shi'a atmosphere of the Islamic Republic. Assistance to refugees (both local and international, e.g.

from UNHCR) is channelled through the Government's Council of Afghan refugees. Support is concentrated on agricultural activities, education and training, and health and hygiene.

The influx of Afghan refugees has swollen the population of border towns and villages. For example, in Mashhad, a town situated in the north-east of Iran near the borders of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan, a fifth of the population of 1.2 million are refugees. The numbers of refugees in Iran quickly surpassed existing administrative capacities for relief support and other service provision. In medical care, for example, Iran has suffered from a backlash not foreseen at the beginning: the state of health of the Afghans is generally rather poor and they have brought back diseases such as malaria, cholera, measles, tuberculosis and leprosy to a country where they no longer existed. Hence, hospitals became crowded, both with Afghans and with infected Iranians. Consequently, the authorities attempted to link the issuance of registration cards to refugees with enforced medical testing. This required refugees to enter the country through designated border posts. However, it is estimated that only 10% of the refugee population have been helped through reception and quarantine centres since the majority have not entered the country through designated checkpoints.

Large numbers of Afghan refugees in Iran work in construction, agriculture and small-scale industries, often competing with local communities in wage employment. A significant number also own shops (illegal under Iranian law) and are slowly beginning to exert influence on distributive trade.

South-East Asia:

In South-east Asia, the refugee situation remains of regional and international concern despite the resettlement of some one million Indochinese refugees within countries of the region and in Australia, Europe and North America since 1985. Refugees continue to flee from Kampuchea, Laos, and Vietnam into neighbouring countries, particularly to Thailand, adding to the estimated 119,790 so-called "residual refugees", the number remaining in camps in that country after resettlement in third countries.

The refugee problem in Thailand has its origins in the wars in Indochina. As the Vietnam War moved towards culmination, the neighbouring countries of Laos and Cambodia became locked in expanding civil wars. By early 1975 these wars had ended in the establishment of communist regimes in all three countries. The harsh social and political repercussions which followed sent waves of asylum seekers

into neighbouring countries, especially Thailand. With the collaboration of the Thai Government, the majority of these asylum seekers eventually registered with UNHCR and thus became eligible for resettlement in third countries.

Between 1975 and mid-1976, more than 663,000 Indochinese refugees arrived in Thailand and were registered by the UNHCR; about 540,000 (over 80%) of them have been processed for third country resettlement. The remaining refugees, the so-called "residual refugees", have been passed over in the resettlement process for a variety of reasons. The residual refugees have become a concern to Thailand, since according to government policy they cannot settle in Thailand, and repatriation has not proven feasible.

Since late 1979, conflicts between Vietnam and Kampuchean resistance forces have become intense, leading to a new influx of over 200,000 asylum seekers at the Thai-Kampuchean border. Given the volatile situation there, the Thai Government has denied refugee status to Kampuchean new arrivals. All have been classified "displaced persons" (without resettlement eligibility) and have remained in border encampments (currently 14 in number) where they receive emergency assistance in food and shelter from the United Nations Border Relief Operation (UNBRO). Since these displaced persons cannot be resettled in Thailand or third countries, and since repatriation schemes have been largely unsuccessful (only about 32,000 have been voluntarily repatriated during 1980-86), it would appear that this group of displaced persons is on its way to becoming another group of residual refugees, but with even fewer institutional supports than the first. Persons in this group are being held in encampments in a situation of limbo with no clear vision of future prospects.

The influx and remaining presence of Indochinese refugees and displaced persons has generated a number of problems for Thailand. Often cited are the national funds and manpower dispensed for the management of camps and related services. Resistance forces disguised as refugees operate along the border, causing strained relations and political conflict with the country's neighbours. Furthermore, large concentrations of refugees and displaced persons have put a heavy strain on the natural resources of the region and have had an untold social and economic impact on local communities. For example, in border areas Thai communities have sometimes had to be evacuated. In the interior, increases in prices of essential foods have been blamed on refugees. On the other hand, the refugee influx has also opened up profitable new markets.

The situation is compounded by the fact that part of Thailand which is affected, the Northeast, is already the country's most disadvantaged region. Consisting of 16

provinces and 15 million people, the region is culturally isolated, politically sensitive, and lowest among the regions in GNP per capita. Generally poor soil conditions are aggravated by unstable rainfall patterns and there is little irrigation. Crop yields are generally low. Most households still regard rice production -- usually a single, rain-fed crop -- as their primary economic activity. During the dry season much off-farm employment takes place, including that involving seasonal migrations to urban areas. Regional instability has increased recently as a result of commodity price fluctuations, the breakdown of traditional land-labour relations (more wage labour), poor access to local, national and international markets, growing household indebtedness and substantial income inequalities.

In the past, Thailand has been able to balance the social, political and economic factors relating to its refugee population principally by resettling a significant number of its refugees in third countries. In recent years, however, the West has become weary of resettling Indochinese refugees, and placements have become more difficult. Moreover, efforts to return refugees to their countries of origin have been notable for their failure. Settlement in Thailand is also unacceptable. Thus, Thailand faces a dilemma: what does it do with the refugees it has received if they cannot be resettled in other countries.

Latin America:

In South America, the 1970's were marked by political and economic upheavals and repeated violations of human rights, leading to the exodus of huge numbers of people. The main refugee producing countries were Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile. Thousands of refugees have now returned to Argentina and Uruguay after the return of those countries to democracy. However, Chile continues to be a refugee producing country. In Central America, the refugee situation continues to worsen on account of the on-going civil wars in El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua. For many years Haiti has also been a refugee producing country.

In Argentina, the death of Juan Peron in 1974 led to the disintegration of politics into factional warfare. Escalating and unbridled political violence culminated in the military coup of March 1976. This was followed by horrific attacks against those the State considered to be spreading "ideas contrary to the Western and Christian civilization". Between 9,000 and 30,000 so-called "subversives" were illegally abducted and "disappeared". Nobody really knows how many Argentians were displaced within the country or took the path

of exile during the 1970s and until democracy was restored in December 1983. According to UNHCR sources figures range between hundreds of thousands and a couple of millions, with a significant minority amongst them being political exiles.

In Uruguay, the Tupamaro guerilla movement had come to dominate political life by the 1960s. In 1972, as the armed forces broke the back of the guerilla opposition, many innocent citizens suffered from the brutally violent security operation that led to the military takeover in 1973 which eclipsed democratic forms of government until civilian rule was restored in December 1985. In the years of turbulence, it is estimated that more than 300,000 people (20% of Uruguay's population) left the country, driven out by the combined pressure of economic decline and a level of repression that made it necessary to have a political permit to celebrate a birthday.

The smooth rehabilitation of former refugees and exiles in both Argentina and Uruguay is hindered by the difficult economic conditions that the two countries are facing and by the consequences of many years of life as refugees. A decade of dislocated life has altered the people's identities and made their homecoming in some instances as traumatic as their flight. According to one journalistic account, "talking about [Argentinian and Uruguayan] returnees and refugees is talking about the will to survive but also about broken lives, broken marriages, estranged children. Dramas that are rarely spectacular, each one private, each one different: individual tales of ordinary tragedy".

In Chile, the military coup of September 1973 which overthrew the elected Marxist Government of Salvador Allende continues to have major ramifications both in the country and elsewhere in the region. The overthrow of the civilian government and the ascension of the military to power was followed by a period of relentlessly violent repression in which tens of thousands of Chileans were tortured and killed, imprisoned, or forced to seek refuge abroad or in countries of the region. By 1978, over 100,000 people had been forced to live outside the country. With the return to democracy in Argentina and Uruguay, Chile is now the only country in South America with a significant refugee caseload.

Although international attention has not been focussed on Haiti until recently, this diminutive island has seen a larger proportion of its population finding refuge elsewhere than any other Latin American country. The number of Haitians in exile is estimated to be more than one million - a sixth of the country's population. According to estimates, there are 500,000 Haitians in North America alone; the 300,000 in New York make it Haiti's 'second city'. There are also significant numbers of Haitians in neighbouring Dominican Republic (estimated at between 250,000-500,000); in

the Lesser Antilles (30,000); in French Guyana (20,000); in the Bahamas (30,000); in France (15,000-30,000); and in relatively smaller numbers in Venezuela, Mexico and in a number of African countries.

The Duvalier dynasty, in power from 1957 until early 1986, effectively institutionalized oppressive forms of government and the complete suppression of ideas. This, and the country's poor economic conditions, promoted outflows of thousands of educated Haitians and others in search of a better livelihood. Although human rights abuses seem to have ended with the overthrow of the Duvalier dynasty, economic conditions in Haiti remain disastrous. Unemployment, at over 65%, has broken all records. It is estimated that the clearing of forests and the over-exploitation of the highlands is leading to the loss of 10,000-15,000 hectares of land by erosion, contributing to worsening the already rather poor living conditions in rural areas.

Today, malnutrition is the most serious problem in Haiti, followed by tuberculosis and malaria. Infant mortality is 125 per 1000. Over 85% of the population are also illiterate. All this does not augur well for the return of Haitian refugees and exiles, especially the thousands who are now living in neighbouring Dominican Republic, a poor country beset with very similar social and economic problems as Haiti.

In Central America, war and political persecution have uprooted several million people since 1980. Large numbers have remained within their own country's borders but many more have exiled themselves in search of safety, a decent livelihood or both. As of early 1986, approximately 750,000 persons were displaced and unable to live in their home communities in El Salvador, another 500,000 were displaced within Guatemala, and at least 150,000 within Nicaragua. Some of these persons live in recognized camps or settlements, but the majority are dispersed among the marginal population on the fringes of towns and villages. In addition, large numbers of Guatemalans, Salvadorans, and Nicaraguans have left their home countries as refugees and have sought safety in neighbouring countries (largely in Mexico, Honduras and Costa Rica).

Only a small minority of Central American refugees and displaced persons (about 120,000 as of May 31, 1986) are benefitting from the protection and the assistance of UNHCR. It would therefore appear that the majority of refugees and displaced persons in Central America exist by virtue of symbiotic relations with local communities. However, the nature and dynamics of the existing support-mechanisms, as well as the extent to which refugees and displaced persons

also benefit from host governments' and local and international NGOs' assistance programmes, are generally not well documented.

6.13.2 Social Science Input:

In Africa, as well as in Asia and Latin America, refugee issues are characterized by a dearth of social science research. Presently available material mainly consists of journalistic accounts, discursive articles not based on field research and some evaluations of government and donor agency supported projects.

In response to this, and to the situation that has been described above, the Social Sciences Division of IDRC has identified refugee issues as an emerging area of research,

Social Sciences Division Appropriations for Research on Refugees, 1981-87

<u>Project</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>Budget</u> (CAD)	<u>Duration</u> (months)	<u>Program</u>	<u>Status</u>
81-0213	Thailand	50,000	10	Education	Completed
85-0163	Botswana Lesotho Swaziland	34,300	12	Population	Active
85-0299	Tanzania	60,400	18	Population	Active
86-0193	Thailand	166,870	24	Population	Active
87-0031	Somalia/ Network Africa/ Asia	213,000	30	Population	Active
TOTAL		524,570			

beginning with studies in selected number of countries in Eastern and Southern Africa (namely, Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland, 3-P-85-0163; Tanzania, 3-P-85-0299; and Somalia, 3-P-87-0031) and Asia (Thailand, 3-P-86-0193). Other projects are being discussed with researchers in Kenya, Ethiopia, Sudan and Pakistan. Collaboration between researchers in Africa and Asia is being fostered through network activities (research methodology and research dissemination workshops) built into the Somalia project (3-P-87-0031).

The thrust of the projects currently being supported by the Division, especially in Africa, is to make available baseline socio-economic and demographic data on refugees and host communities. In the estimation of the Division, the projects will provide data which is not readily available on: family size, structure, and composition; existing family resources and income-generating activities; and available skills and employment patterns among refugees and non-refugee households. The project being developed on Afghan refugees in Pakistan has similar objectives.

While the the project on Indochinese refugees being supported in Thailand has comparable concerns as those being examined in the projects in Africa, the emphasis in this activity is to determine the reasons for rejection of refugees for resettlement (in the case of residual refugees) and reasons for entering Thailand (in the case of displaced persons). The project will assess resettlement and repatriation options by gathering new data on refugee aspirations, changes in countries of origin and resettlement, and government and international organizations positions and strategies. It will also examine policies related to basic service provision in "holding centres" and camps for residual refugees and displaced persons, and the management of food, shelter, health, education and training programmes and services, with special attention to the management of programmes to enhance resettlement possibilities and self-reliance while in the camps.

Overall, the expectation of the Social Sciences Division is that the data produced through its various refugee research projects will assist in the planning of more effective programmes in such areas as education, health and agricultural support services, small-scale industries, employment, and income-generating activities for both refugees and host communities. Dissemination of research results to planners and policymakers in countries hosting large numbers of refugees is therefore a key feature of these projects.

6.13.3 Proposed Areas of Collaboration

Applied research on refugees offers great opportunities for collaborative work between various Programs of the Division and other Divisions within the Centre. The examples below are offered for illustration.

I. Within the Social Sciences Division

With Policy Analysis Program:

- (a) Analysis of Governments', donors' and NGOs' assistance programmes.
- (b) Evaluation of sectoral programmes in such areas as employment creation, income-generating activities and service provision.

With Population and Education Program:

- (a) Demographic and socio-economic profiles of refugees and displaced persons.
- (b) Needs assessments in basic service provision in health and hygiene, education, water and sanitation and shelter.

With Regional Development Program:

- (a) Analysis of the environmental impact of large concentrations of refugees and displaced persons on the resource base of the rural areas of host-countries.
- (b) Study of the general impact of refugees and displaced persons on host-communities.
- (c) Evaluation of integrated rural development programmes for refugees and displaced persons and host communities.

II. With Other Research Divisions

With AFNS:

- (a) Agricultural development projects.
- (b) Resettlement schemes.
- (c) Afforestation and other resource management issues.

With Health Sciences:

- (a) Health needs assessments.
- (b) Basic health provision.

With Information Sciences:

- (a) Information needs.
- (b) Refugee and displaced persons documentation systems.

With the Coop Division:

- (a) Collaborative programmes between relevant Canadian and Third World NGOs involved in refugee and displaced persons assistance programmes.

III. With Support Divisions

- (a) With Communications. Dissemination of research results.
- (b) With FAD. Training and fellowship awards for refugees and displaced scholars.

6.13.4 Proposed Strategy and Actions, 1988-92

In the initial phase of research on refugees and displaced persons, and in order to help fill the void which exists with regard to systematically available data in this area, the Social Sciences Division has had to concentrate its support on the collection of baseline data on refugees and host communities. As this programme of support comes to an end in Africa and Asia in 1988, it is recommended that it be followed in the period 1988-92 by projects emphasizing the assessment of refugee assistance programmes and their impact on refugee and non-refugee communities in the countries hosting large numbers of refugees and displaced persons in these two regions. Wherever possible, these projects should be collaborative endeavours between various Programs within the Division, other Centre Divisions and relevant governmental and non-governmental organizations in the affected countries. Dissemination of research results (through publications and workshops for policymakers) should be a strong feature of this research programme.

In the case of Latin America, where there are large numbers of refugees and displaced persons, but where the Centre is presently not supporting any projects in this area, it is recommended that funds be made available from the Divisional Reserve to explore opportunities for research on refugees and displaced persons in a number of countries of South America (in Argentina and Uruguay on returnees), in Central America (in refugee-producing countries - El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua - and in refugee-receiving countries - Mexico, Honduras, Costa Rica), and in the Caribbean (mainly Haiti).

It is further recommended that any research on refugees and displaced persons in Latin America be preceded by a state-of-the-art review on what has been done in the past, followed by a regional project-development workshop to discuss and identify research gaps, ascertain researchers' interests, and lay out a programme for future work. The state-of-the-art review should be undertaken early in 1988, followed by the project-development workshop later in the year, and by definite project activities during 1989-92. An overall network project, linking activities in various countries of the region, should be preferred in place of individual country projects. Suitable mechanisms of linking this network to the one in Africa/Asia should be explored.

Beside what has been outlined above, future research on refugees and displaced persons in Africa, Asia and Latin America will also need to address itself to more global issues relating to the origins of these concerns in specific country or regional contexts. Such research will necessarily

have to grapple with such complex issues as, the nature, and the causes of the refugee crisis, and possible short and long-term responses to it. This body of research will also need to examine related questions focussing on the nature of the State and on contemporary political systems in order to throw light on the labyrinth of social, political, and economic factors, such the development of authoritarianism; political violence; the increasing power and role of the military; human rights; and ethnic and class conflict, in order to provide a better understanding of why people are displaced or become refugees in the first place.

6.13.5 Resources Required

Funds from the Divisional Reserve will be required early in 1988 for the state-of-the-art review of research on refugees and displaced persons in Latin America and for the follow-up regional project-development workshop. In terms of project support, in FY88-89/89-90, funds will be required for projects in Pakistan and the Sudan and for projects emanating from the project-development workshop in Latin America. During this period, funds will also be required for phase-two activities for the projects in Africa (in Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, Tanzania, and Somalia) and in Asia (Thailand and Pakistan). In FY90-92, a sizable block of funds will be required for research dissemination activities.

In view of the workload of the Regional Program Officers in EARO, ASRO, and LARO who will be required to develop and monitor these projects, funds will also be required to hire short-term consultants/coordinators to assist with these activities.